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ABSTRACT

This monograph is written to help school administrators and policy makers, in addressing the question of safe schools, separate analytically what is "school" and what is "society" in order to better understand the real span of the school's control. The central question is: what are the characteristics of safe and effective school systems and what can schools do to become safer and to be perceived as safe? A social organization model of the public schools is provided which examines: (1) the school as mandatory service provider; (2) school crime and the local community; (3) school crime and the school itself--its physical and social structures, its social functions, and its learning climate. A typology of safe and sound schools is outlined, offering profiles of problem schools, opportunistic schools, maverick schools, and ritualistic schools. Within a framework provided by effective schools research and delinquency prevention research, current disciplinary practices are analyzed in terms of: (1) system-wide policies and programs that change individual students; (2) strategies that change the students by changing the organization's school-based practices; and (3) what works in juvenile justice. A strategy for organizational change, based on the practices discussion, is then offered. And finally, a detailed administrative observation instrument is provided for use in evaluating the instructional effectiveness of a school or rehabilitative program. (RDN)

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SAFE SCHOOLS, SOUND SCHOOLS:

LEARNING IN A NON-DISRUPTIVE ENVIRONMENT

by

Dora Schriro

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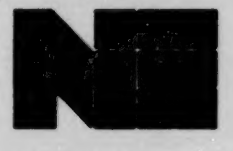

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

During the 1960s it seemed that more students than ever before were involved in more serious and more frequent in-school acts of violence and vandalism. Reports of such disturbances finally peaked in the early 1970s, and then began to level off (NIE, 1977). Since 1980 the fear of serious school disruption has become a problem more often than its actual occurrence (AASA, 1980; FBI, 1982; NCCE, 1984; NIE, 1983; UFT, 1984). Today, most school principals report that the primary causes of disruptions in their buildings are widespread tardiness and absenteeism (AASA, 1980).

The good news that there is less crime is, however, not widely recognized. Since Chaos in the Classroom (Bauer, 1984) was released, impressions of a larger problem have endured because they are protected by a special reality -- the extent to which learning occurs or children are safe is the extent to which we perceive it to be so (Thompson, 1967). Admittedly, as a profession we are hard pressed to counteract by description, definition, explanation, or solution the wide range of problems that are seen as disrupting schools. We still tend to rely on the same

traditional classroom disciplinary measures -- codes of conduct, student rules, corporal punishment, suspension, expulsion -- to maintain order (Children's Defense Fund, 1975) despite increasing evidence that these conventional efforts to remediate school-based problems inadvertently encourage disruptive behavior (Gold, 1963; Hawkins and Wall, 1980; McDermott, July 1982; Rutter, Maugham, Mortimore, and Oustin, 1979; Weis and Sederstrom, 1981).

Others have data which show that only a relatively small percentage of children, ages 12 to 16, are ever responsible for the most serious and costly crimes (McDermott, 1978; NIE, 1977) and that these students are impervious to school-wide strategies. These others say that delinquency simply reflects the number of children in the high crime ages who are enrolled in school (Blumstein, Cohen, and Miller, 1980) and that there will be a resurgence in crime as the growing numbers of children born to the 1950s "Baby Boom" generation reach the age at which they, like their parents before them, are most likely to act out in school -- their pre- and mid-teens.

From either perspective, getting tougher will not make it any safer for any of us. A different approach is needed, one that begins, unlike traditional approaches, by distinguishing between what in school crime is simply reflective of things in general and what is school-specific.

That there is much that is school-specific must be recognized. The very existence of mavericks -- the safest schools in the most dangerous neighborhoods or effective alternative programs for once violent juvenile offenders -- discourages the minimization of real differences between schools. Mavericks are better than most. They include the programs that have devised a way to prevent the occurrence of delinquency or reduce its reoccurrence in the neighborhoods we have been led to believe are most resistant to change. Their strategy is always the same: They abandon some fairly common practices -- ones that are most used to increase control over children -- if they unintentionally contribute to inhouse disruptions. In their place mavericks maximize key and alterable within-program factors -- the administration and service providers/faculty, testing practices/case management, the learning/treatment environment, basic skills instruction, and other resources -- to maintain an instructionally sound and physically safe setting.

This monograph is written to help school administrators and policy makers separate analytically what is "school" and what is "society" in order to better understand the real span of the school's control. The central question is: What are the characteristics of safe and sound school systems and what can schools do to become safer and to be perceived as safe? In search of answers to this question,

the monograph brings together the best research on the best programs in education and juvenile justice for delinquency-prone children. A typology of safe and sound programs helps the reader identify styles of structuring teaching and learning activities ranging from poor to good. An overview of disciplinary practices, some of which are more likely to promote problems and others to promote learning, classifies them either by their tendency to change individual children's behavior or by their tendency to change the ways in which the school structures its business of education and socialization. The Instructionally Effective Schools (IES) literature and delinquency prevention research provide the framework for descriptions of current practices that are academically sound as well as safe and orderly. These practices are incorporated into an organizational change strategy for school improvement.

ARE PUBLIC SCHOOLS SAFE? HOW SAFE?

Since the late 1950s we have asked the public school for more and more services: all-day kindergarten, two subsidized hot meals five days a week, medical examinations and scoliosis screenings and immunizations, school prayer, social work and psychiatric services, mandated reporting of abused and neglected children. In retrospect, too much has been asked of one institution and our almost universal dissatisfaction with the ways things are now is indicative of a pervasive disillusionment with the notion that our current child care system could be society's "super parent." Not only has the traditional system of compulsory schooling failed to maintain the high SAT scores set in the mid-1960s, but the crimes of the streets seem to have gotten inside of our schools.

Our concern for disruptive youth and school discipline has been evident for some time. In 1949 a review by Hennings indicated that lying and disrespect were the most serious disciplinary problems encountered in a sample of 225 high schools around the country. By 1956, the National Education Association (NEA) suggested the problem had escalated. Acts of violence in schools, such as "juvenile gangsterism," stealing, armed assault, and murder, seemed

to be occurring with increased frequency, particularly in blighted urban areas (Blyth, 1980, p. 377). By all accounts, delinquency was increasing in the community, too. Arrest rates for teenagers charged with crimes against persons (e.g. homicide, rape, robbery, and assault) soared between 1953 and 1974 from 85 to 295 per 100,000. At the same time, the number of adolescents arrested for property offenses (e.g. burglary, theft, vandalism, and arson) increased from 160 to 520 per 100,000.

In 1964 Stinchcombe directed the public's attention to the impact of crime on the secondary school. In Rebellion in a High School he asserted that school-related crime was a significant impediment to learning. The concern with school violence continued to increase through the early 1970s until it became sufficiently politicized to spawn a congressional investigation. Senator Birch Bayh chaired the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency from 1971 to 1974. Its most influential report, Our Nation's Schools -- a Report Card: "A" in School Violence and Vandalism, was based on data gathered from 759 school districts during the period 1971 to 1975. One of the most widely quoted parts of this report gave the cost of repairing or replacing vandalized school property as an estimated 600,000 million dollars per year. The actual cost was

later revised on a per pupil basis to the less well-publicized value one half of the original figure (in the Subcommittee's final report, Challenge for the Third Century: Education in a Safe Environment).

Discrepancies such as the above underscored the need for a central reporting bureau to define types of school crime and to circulate its costs. Since then the School Security Directors (NASSD) has developed the capacity to record "events or behaviors which significantly disrupt the education of children" (Syracuse University Research Corp., 1970) on the way to or from school and during the school day (Research for Better Schools, Inc., 1976). The Collegial Association for the Development and Renewal of Educators (CADRE) has also developed an excellent tool to gauge a school's instructional climate (see also AASA, 1981; Blauvelt, 1981, pp. 4-6; Howard, 1978; Rubel, 1977) and other, easy-to-use surveys for criminal justice improvement projects have been offered to school safety study groups.

In the 1970s there were also a number of court decisions which may have dramatized how unruly the schools had become. In some instances the school's discretion in the matter of discipline was upheld. Schools still could punish students for conduct which, if exhibited at home, would not be punishable by law enforcement agencies. (The Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 prevents juvenile

court involvement unless the misbehavior in question, if committed by an adult, would be punishable in the criminal court as well.) Schools could also continue to use corporal punishment (Ingraham v. Wright, 1977), even over the parent's objection (Baker v. Owen, 1975). In fact, only behavior that did not substantially interfere with schoolwork or school safety had to be accepted with tolerance (Gambino v. Fairfax City School Board, 1977).

The school's use of discipline was held to be subject to closer scrutiny only when constitutional issues were raised. Several of the best known cases heard by the Supreme Court in that period involved such issues: Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District (1969) dealt with a situation involving the curtailment of a student's First Amendment rights; Goss v. Lopez (1975) established special procedures to be followed before a school can suspend a student; and Wood v. Strickland (1975) held that school officials can be held liable for actions that deprive students of rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

Continuing discussions about school violence created a climate that eventually led to the Safe Schools Study Act of 1974. This legislation directed the National Institute of Education (NIE) to undertake a research project that would determine the true scope of the problem and make recommendations. NIE was charged with collecting information

about the frequency, types, and seriousness of crime in schools; the number and location of schools affected; the cost of replacement or repair of materials destroyed, damaged, or stolen; and prevention and control measures used by schools. And, finally, NIE was to gather further insights regarding the individual attitudes and experiences of students and teachers concerning risk and victimization. A report on the study, Violent Schools -- Safe Schools, was released in 1977. It concluded that the presence of a problem (as determined by a time trend analysis, the risk of violence to youth in school, and principals' perceptions of the seriousness of the problem) simply was not as great as the perception of a problem. Indeed, school violence and vandalism, particularly in urban areas, had begun to level off as compared with the previous three decades. The report concluded that although the risk of violence to youth by youth was still greater in school than elsewhere, in-school offenses were typically nonviolent and of small monetary consequence.

The NIE report did little to alter the public's perceptions of the problem, however. And even as other reports have continued to validate the 1977 study (McDermott and Hindelang, 1979; NIE, 1983), the public's impressions of widespread problems have continued to linger (Bauer, 1984; Research for Better Schools, Inc., 1976).

Within the profession there is as little consensus as ever about the school's role in delinquency prevention. The United Federation of Teachers (UFT) has continued to press for increased discretionary powers for teachers in most school-related matters -- most recently, the right to search students and seize contraband (New York Times, 1984). The National Education Association (NEA) has developed a different approach (1980). It has tended to interpret most school disruptions as failures on the part of teachers to limit misbehavior themselves through classroom instruction and classroom discipline. Its literature continues to stress better teaching methods and materials.

In the end it may be that most groups' positions ultimately fulfill a singularly basic function, their own survival, a process which is more sociopolitical than is schooling. Thus it can be noted that when subcommittees of the House and Senate invited the UFT and the NEA to testify about school discipline and violence last winter, they concurred: School discipline, particularly cutting class, absenteeism, and truancy, was a problem for the public school but it was not half as serious as the problems caused by school finance, declining enrollments, and poor student achievement (AASA, 1980; see also, Gallup, 1983; NCCE, 1984, PTA, 1982).

A SOCIAL ORGANIZATION MODEL OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The School as Mandatory Service Provider

The closer we can come to understanding the special nature of the social organizations we call schools, the better we can understand the special kinds of problems that they face. Schools, like other mandatory or publicly funded service providers, are what Carlson (1964) called "domesticated"; i.e., unlike most privately funded organizations, they do not have to compete for their clients. Instead, their funding is contingent on their acceptance of every child who is referred to them. But while publicly funded programs are set up to take in every child who is sent to them, they are not always able to convince every child to cooperate. In other words, schools, along with other mandatory service providers such as delinquency prevention and intervention programs, group homes for the mentally retarded and emotionally ill, drug rehabilitation centers, homes for unwed teenage mothers, and day care and foster care programs, are expected to keep large numbers of energetic but poorly motivated and otherwise disadvantaged children safe and to give them shelter, schooling, and socialization -- whether or not they want it.

Lortie's portrayal of the public school in Schoolteacher (1975) emphasized the similarities between the school's regime and that of traditional delinquency facilities. In fact, Lortie's public school is the functional equivalent of what Goffman, in Asylums, called the total institution.

> The central feature of total institutions can be described as a breakdown of the barriers ordinarily separating . . . three spheres of life. First, all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority. Second, each phase of the member's daily activity is carried on in the immediate company of a large number of others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same thing together. Third, all phases of the day's activity are tightly scheduled, with one activity leading at a pre-arranged time into the next, and the whole sequence of activities being imposed from above through a system of explicit formal rulings and by a body of officials. (Goffman, 1961, p. 6)

It seems that whatever the ultimate goal of education, the daily objective for many instructional programs has become classroom discipline. Much research about schools reflects this subtle shift. Several theories from the social sciences seem to explain most clearly why school has come to mean this for so many of us. The answers that they offer are as dreary as the images that Goffman and Lortie shaped, however, for most of the evidence suggests that the school itself is responsible for most delinquent behavior, particularly during the early teenage years (USDOJ, 1980, 1981).

Strain and opportunity theories explain it this way. Most children want the same things -- good grades, a part in the school play, membership in popular clubs, a position on the varsity team -- but only a few, theoretically the "best," ever get them. Everyone else keeps on wanting them for a while, a few try cheating to get them, and a few fight back (Elliott and Voss, 1974; Feldhusen, 1978; Hirschi, 1969; McPartland and McDill, 1977). Eventually, the best achievers become the best behaved (Call, 1965; Jensen, 1976; Stinchcombe, 1964) and underachievers get a reputation for aggressiveness and disruptions (Feldhusen, Thurston, and Benning, 1973) that follows them back home (Elliott and Voss, 1974; Jensen, 1976; Silberberg and Silberberg, 1971; Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin, 1972). The entire disruption process is driven by achievement. Race, income, and real estate have nothing to do with it (Polk and Schaefer, 1972, p. 78; Swift and Spivack, 1973, p. 392). Another interesting thing about this process is that after many delinquents drop out of school, they also stop being delinquents (Elliott and Voss, 1974, p. 119) because they have different things to learn now (Hirschi, 1969; Jenson, 1976; Kelly, 1977; Linton, 1971; Polk and Schaefer, 1972; Wolfgang et al., 1972). Only schools that provide real opportunities for more students to succeed are able to diminish disruptive behavior (Mann and Lawrence, 1981, pp. 8-9).

Labeling theory adds to this idea. Grades, for example, are a way in which schools sort "winners" from "losers." They are intended to describe performance but over time they are used to describe students. Then labels become self-fulfilling: The least successful students take on other characteristics of "losers" and become the most delinquent, too (Elliott and Voss, 1974; Hirschi, 1969).

Bonding theory rounds out an answer by recognizing the influence that classmates have on one another. Children spend more time in school than any other place, so classmates have more time in school than playmates have after school to teach their friends, for better (Sakumoto, 1978) or worse (Elliott and Voss, 1974). Since learning takes time, the more time children spend with friends who are in trouble, the more likely they are to learn how to get into trouble, too, particularly when schools, like jails, put all of the "troublemakers" together (Weis and Sederstrom, 1981).

The Safe Schools Study (NIE, 1977) uses these theories -- strain (special opportunities), labeling (special identification systems), and bonding (special friendships) -- to build its explanation of why some schools have more crime than others; it is still the best combination of research about schools as social organizations and how school organization adds to or takes away from the safety and wellbeing of teachers and students.

The NIE authors identified a number of community factors and school factors as contributing to school crime (NIE, 1977, pp. 342-7). These are discussed below.

School Crime and the Community in which the School is Located

According to the NIE study, there are at least four characteristics that contribute to real and perceived changes in the rate of crime in the community:

1. Enrollment. The community's ability to define and defend its territory and to communicate its values is affected by the speed with which it grows in size or changes constituencies. Mobility also contributes to blight.

2. Life Style. As more people work, train for work, or look for work, they are less able to watch over the neighborhood.

3. Age. As people mature they tend to commit less crime, less serious crime, less frequently; communities with a lot of young people have a lot of crime.

4. Cultural biases. A neighborhood's mix of classes, races, and religions, etc. predisposes law enforcement authorities to detect crimes in some communities but not others and to punish them more vigorously.

The formula seems to bear out what the press has portrayed. Schools located in communities characterized by

rapid growth, poverty, minority families, working parents, and unsupervised adolescents are most likely to be perceived as unsafe and more likely to receive traditional law enforcement methods. Studies such as Liebow's Tally's Corner (1967), Gans' Urban Villagers (1962), and Rutter et al.'s Fifteen Thousand Hours (1979), however, describe notable examples of social organizations that have overcome all of these negatives to stay, or become, safe schools in dangerous neighborhoods, safe neighborhoods in dangerous regions. All of the at-risk residential or school communities described in the studies developed ways to make their space "defensible" against external forces (Newman, 1972). They used real and symbolic variables for territory definition (fences, hedges, street lights) and relied upon name and face recognition, shared values, effective communication networks, and a high ration of adults to adolescents to help make their places and programs safe and productive for all members (ibid., p. 3). (For more information about neighborhood improvement projects, see DeJong and Goolkasian, 1982; Trojanowicz, 1983.) Studies of less successful organizations reveal that disorganized or dysfunctional groups reacted to the variables described above in ways that increased the likelihood that physical or psychological harm would occur (Popkewitz, Tabachnick, and Wehlage, 1982; Rist, 1978). They moved away, turned away, took away from the group experience.

School Crime and the School Itself

We know that explanations for what people think, do, and say during the school day are not solely determined by academic subject matter. There are four factors at work in the school that relate directly to the numbers and severity of real and perceived disruptions. Particular attention should be paid to these variables because, properly reorganized, the schools can influence educational policy and practices and could modify the effects of these factors more easily than those of the community. The NIE study (1977) described them this way:

1. The School's Physical Structure. The design of the school building can inhibit or encourage the occurrence of crimes. Defensible schools are designed in ways "to create the physical expression of a social fabric" (Newman, 1972). This means that the physical plant is built or modified for maximum protection by adding real or symbolic barriers such as shrubs and fences, defining its borders like areas of influence in the ways in which play and parking areas are arranged, and providing opportunities for surveillance (by designing short, straight hallways, using faculty for hall patrols, making study halls and lunch rooms small, and improving exterior lighting). Not only are these methods nonconfrontational, they are less expensive and more effective

in the prevention of crimes and in perceptions of safety than are traditional security hardware (special locks, unbreakable glass, intrusion alarms, monitoring devices) and security personnel, K-9 units, student and faculty I.D.s, and paramilitary practices and paraphernalia that are added onto a facility to make it more secure.

2. The School's Social Structure. The number of faculty and students in one building, their socioeconomic characteristics, and the quality of student-staff social relationships are several aspects of the school's social structure, the second factor which can increase or decrease the probability of school disruption. Of these, school size is a very popular topic. Studies of postsecondary schools have shown that large institutions are more likely than small ones to have high rates of disruption (Scott and El-Assal, 1969). Large student enrollments have been proven to contribute to normlessness and feelings of isolation in elementary and secondary schools, too (NIE, 1977; Rutter et al., 1979). Other negative effects of a large community on a school have been documented as well (Barker and Gump, 1964). In each instance, the well-known and positive aspects of large facilities -- more choice, more space, and more peers -- were neutralized by group dynamics. When there are too many children, the weakest become the least visible and the most

vulnerable (McPartland and McDill, 1977). Too many options overwhelm them.

A very controversial topic is how the school's biosocial makeup results in real (Coleman, 1961; Jencks et al., 1972) and perceived (Mann and Lawrence, 1981) differences in the quality of its program. Sometimes biosocial characteristics -- age, sex, economic status, race, and ethnicity -- can be used as a short cut to sort children into different classes according to school-specific labels (e.g. good students/bad students, smart students/dumb students, white children in trouble are troubled/black children in trouble are trouble). While these labels may differ from school to school, the process of classifying is fundamental to the social structure of all schools. Nonacademic criteria are used as the basis for sorting "winners" from "losers." Sorting not only predisposes some of us to think of Jewish and Chinese students as winners and Blacks and Hispanics as losers, it also fixes the rules about who goes where and when. Space is assigned or restricted according to one's classification -- all teachers, "good" students, and parent volunteers can roam the halls freely at most times, whereas "bad" students or unauthorized visitors cannot. Labels predispose rule makers to decide whether or not to punish rule breakers.

Informal rules about territoriality structure relationships according to prevailing norms: (1) power relations (the relative power of the administration, teachers, and students to make decisions); (2) authority relations (who is recognized as having the right to make decisions about what); and (3) affinity relations (the tendency of administrators, teachers, and students to relate personally or impersonally among and between groups). The presence of these different types of informal and formal social relationships cannot be underestimated. Every school has a "hidden curriculum" of values and behavior (Rist, 1978) which operates according to different kinds of structures understood through four school structures (Ianni in Wenk and Harlow, 1978; Reuss-Ianni, 1983):

a. The teaching-learning structure: Interactive patterns by which teachers and students are socialized to the learning style valued by the school.

b. The authority-power structure: Traditions such as in loco parentis and parens patriae, compulsory school attendance laws, local rules of student governance, and age-grade classifications formalize the relationship between home and school.

c. The peer-group structure: Culturally sanctioned group values, modes of behavior, and patterns for conflict resolution with peers are incorporated into the learning of one's role as student, faculty, or parent.

d. The cross-group structure: Interactions between groups are regulated (ideally by the principal whose role is best suited to link groups) through behavior codes and communication networks, access, and visibility.

3. The School's Social Functions. Schools are state-sponsored institutions that are administered locally. Local authorities are responsible for meeting a number of educational and socializing functions (see Dreeban, 1968; Parsons, 1959). Spady (1974) suggests that there are five functions that schools must fulfill; the NIE study (1977) provided some indicators for each function.

a. Instruction: The amount of time spent in instruction, perceived quality of instruction, and perceived relevance of courses.

b. Socialization: Student involvement in school organizations and activities, provisions for staff/student interaction on nonacademic matters, and counseling services (guidance, personal problems).

c. Custody-control: The nature, extent, and clarity of school rules, degree of rule enforcement, perceived fairness of rules and their enforcement, disciplinary measures (suspensions, expulsions, corporal punishment), programs for discipline problems (special classes, alternative schools), and teacher supervision and job performance evaluations.

d. Evaluation-certification: The emphasis placed on grades, use or misuse of grades, teacher expectations of students, promotion policies, teacher certification, and preservice and inservice staff development.

e. Selection: The extent and characteristics of tracking, criteria for recruitment to school (personal preference, geographical assignments, teacher rotation, etc.), and special classes or programs for students (gifted, developmentally delayed, etc.) or teachers (see Mann, 1982).

Ultimately, schools that are unable or unwilling to fulfill their five functions are neither as safe nor as sound as they could be. Poor instruction and irrelevant courses over long periods of time encourage students and teachers to disassociate themselves from the school and to act out. And, when the school fails to provide the basis for socialization, clear performance standards, and fair enforcement practices, it invites further disruption. The ways in which schools emphasize and distribute grades engender feelings of fairness or antagonism toward the school. Rigid tracking and promotional systems which exclude the majority of students (or teachers) from special recognition or advancement decrease commitment and increase the probability of frustration leading to disruptive or nonproductive behaviors.

4. The School's Learning Climate. The school's learning climate is defined as the "norms, beliefs, and attitudes reflected in the instructional patterns and behavioral practices that enhance or impede student achievement" (Lezotte, 1981, pp. 26-31). It includes all aspects of the educational environment and the loose and often unstated understandings of the ways the physical structure, the social structure, and the teaching-learning structure are supposed to be.

A TYPOLOGY OF SAFE AND SOUND SCHOOLS

The preceding section makes it plain that schools differ in their ability to function as educational institutions according to the degree to which they are organized to deliver services ranging from good to poor. The best schools are academically sound and physically safe. In this monograph they are referred to as "maverick" schools. The worst schools fail to fulfill both educational and socializing functions. They are "problem" schools. There are also schools that consistently report good test scores on nationally normed tests but are unsafe by today's standards. These schools are described as "opportunistic." The rest are safe, sometimes by chance, sometimes by choice, and they are instructionally ineffective. These schools are "ritualistic."

Sometimes a community is tricked by the ways things seem to be. It tends to assume that the best schools are always found in well-to-do neighborhoods and that poorer neighborhoods always have poorer programs. Perceptions of the school's real ability to teach are protected by symbols of excellence: wealth, high scores, few reports of crime. The following typology of safe and sound schools was developed by compiling field observations of different

programs into one model which separates "school" from "society." Its descriptions of how schools organize services under the best and worst of circumstances explain which schools are most likely to be (perceived as) safe and/or sound.

Table 1. A Typology of Safe and Sound Schools

Opportunistic School UNSAFE/SOUND	Maverick School SAFE/SOUND
Problem School UNSAFE/UNSOUND	Ritualistic School SAFE/SOUND

Profile of a Problem School

Problem school is a public vocational high school in Spanish Harlem, a section of Manhattan that is characterized by fighting gangs, unemployment, fire-bombed cars, and drug use. (For other examples of problem schools, see Howard, 1978, pp. 17-18; Noblit and Collins, 1978, pp. 277-279.) It is attended by equal numbers of black, white and Hispanic teenagers, few of whom live in the immediate neighborhood. They travel an hour or more each way by bus and subway to get to and from school. The school has been classified as "unsafe" by the teachers' union because more than 20 serious incidents involving union members were

reported last year (UFT, 1984). The school's dropout rate is also disquieting. It is worse than the citywide average of 38% (NYC Board of Education, 1984) and is fast approaching the 69% figure researched by a Hispanic rights group (ASPIRA of NY, Inc., 1983). The school's average reading achievement test score is well below the national norm. So few students took the SAT last spring that no comparison between college-bound groups can ever be made. Students' daily attendance is less than one half the official roster.

The staff are demoralized, too. This is reflected in their conduct. They are absent frequently. Few volunteer to serve as club sponsors. Teachers leave the building in pairs for safety as soon as the last bell rings. Textbooks and machinery are grossly outdated; lessons do not reflect an effort on their part to update information or skills. A parent once said of these teachers, "They had not 'burned out,' they had 'rusted out' from disuse."

An absence of school spirit is also reflected in the building. A number of windows are broken and have not been replaced, the outside walls are covered with multicolored spray paint signs, and the interior corridors have a lot of graffitti, too. There's litter everywhere. Teachers say they are reluctant to punish students for vandalism because they fear that the children will retaliate. They also say

parents do not support them. A lack of definition between the school and the surrounding neighborhood adds to this sense of anomie. The building is close to the FDR Drive (a major car thoroughfare), an express subway stop, the train station, and a large hospital. Drug sales are common and the surrounding area is a favorite place to abandon stolen cars.

The problem school is a place that communicates a lack of the concern and cooperation necessary to coordinate its teachers and other resources for the delivery of safe and sound services. The school acquieses in the turbulence in the community. Serious school disruptions and inferior instruction are major parts of this school's culture.

Profile of an Opportunistic School

Opportunistic school is located west of Boston in a wealthy bedroom community. It is a public high school which is well known for its comprehensive college preparatory program. (For other examples of opportunistic schools, see Rubel, 1978, pp. 257-265.) Its student body is entirely white. The school's reading scores are consistently some of the highest recorded nationwide; better than 90% of every graduating class attends college immediately upon graduation. Although many students are accepted into Ivy League schools, everyone is guaranteed a place in the local community college.

The school itself is located on a quiet street and is surrounded by large, privately owned, single-family homes. The physical plant is attractive and the grounds are well maintained. Inside, the library, the labs (language, science, computer) and recreational facilities (including an Olympic-sized pool) are state-of-the-art equipped. Elective enrichment and gifted studies all stress higher cognitive skills development and are widely available to the whole student body as a part of the regular program. In fact, there is little evidence of basic skills instruction, drill, or review in this open classroom setting.

The school's "self-expressiveness" is also reflected in the presence of a building-based school psychiatrist, the student lounge in which students may smoke, the student parking lot, and an open campus policy which permits students to leave the building during nonacademic periods. Other indicators of this school's culture -- widespread cutting, tardiness, and absenteeism, attendance at class while under the influence of alcohol and drugs, and frequent thefts of personal and school property -- are not discussed openly by the faculty or widely recognized within the community.

Parents are concerned with grades. They often try to pressure school board members, the principal, or department heads to direct teachers to reconsider how they

graded their children's tests or whether all of the requirements for the research paper were really necessary. They often succeed. In this school, winning is everything.

The school has organized itself to distribute many symbols of excellence. The school and community seem to agree that there is no need to teach per se, or to address the chronic absenteeism and substance abuse because students achieve in spite of the instructional program. Preschool, home computers, immersion experiences during school vacations, etc. supplement the school's curriculum. Since school disruptions do not affect decisions about students' grades but would hurt their chances for college placements if word were to get out, word does not get out and no changes for the better are made. For these reasons the school is opportunistic. Its reputation has no relationship to the ways in which it has organized teaching-learning experiences.

Profile of a Ritualistic School

Ritualistic school is in Newark, New Jersey. It is one of the largest general studies high schools in the state. (For other examples of ritualistic schools, see Popkewitz et al., 1982.) The school actually doubled the size of its physical plant several years ago and it was renamed after the annex was completed. Now both buildings are in disrepair and there are not enough textbooks or teaching

materials for the students who register there each September. The library is less than half full. In retrospect, some administrators argue that it was unwise to have made the school so large. The staff are not able to recognize who belongs inside the building and who does not. Student ID cards are issued to verify enrollment eligibility and uniformed guards check for these passes. Many students lose these cards and most of them are unable to pay the replacement fee, so they are suspended for three days.

Not only the building size but also its design have caused problems for the faculty. The halls that connect the two buildings are so long and curved that teachers who volunteer for hall duty complain visibility is impaired. Department heads monitor the corridors, as well as the lunch rooms and detention halls, because the last union contract relieved teachers from all nonprofessional duties, including that of watching the student bathrooms. To prevent students from smoking in the lavatories they are kept locked now. When students have to relieve themselves, they use the stairwells or simply go home for the rest of the day. They cannot reenter the building after using the restroom at the local coffee shop because the principal has decided that children can only come into the building when classes change.

Department heads have little time or interest left to incorporate state competency items into the curriculum

or to evaluate teachers during the school day. In many classrooms teachers lead "rap sessions" for a while and then they assign students seat work. Actually, much of the instructional time is spent by the teachers reading their newspapers and by students braiding each other's hair or napping until the bell rings. Last year the class valedictorian failed senior English and the president of the Future Nurses of America (FNA) could not get into nursing school because she did not know that she needed to take biology.

The school does provide remedial instruction and Chapter I services to children who fail the state's competency test. This consists of drill sheets; practice with scissors, rulers, and clocks; and life skills -- what to do after you drop out or become pregnant.

Parents have never challenged the school's use of discipline or its teaching practices and poor test scores since it enlarged. In fact, the community has never seemed to recover fully from the riots in the late 1960s. Looted stores and abandoned and burnt buildings stand as they were. Around them now are large, poorly maintained, publicly subsidized housing projects. They are occupied by low-income and no-income, single parent and minority multigenerational families. They are ruled by fighting gangs. The middle class has never returned. Local government, intentionally

or otherwise, communicates its displeasure. Every city service is inferior: school, snow removal, housing, street cleaning, fire fighting, police protection, welfare, public health, emergency services.

This school goes through the motions. Bulletin boards are like stage props; once they are filled up they are left up for years. The clocks are new but they do not work. The intercom system is broken so the P.A. system is used to call students to the Discipline Office. The teachers do not teach, the department heads do not supervise. The principal is rarely a principal player. The school fails to provide basic instruction and students fail statewide basic skills tests. Its thorough security measures are too thorough. Although the city has had problems with crime, this school has not. It has no gangs, violent incidents, or drug use. There is nothing to steal. Its security practices have impaired instruction. Taking on rituals that have no meaning to this school has not added any meaning to its culture.

Profile of a Maverick School

Maverick schools are found frequently in unlikely settings such as inner-city neighborhood schools, rural magnet programs, or publicly operated facilities. (For other examples of these programs see Educational Leadership,

1982; Elementary School Journal, 1983; Review of Educational Research, 1982.) This maverick school is housed in a wing on the second floor of a large metropolitan jail (capacity 2000) used solely to detain adolescents who are being held up to one year on charges typically ranging from violent, person-to-person felonies to repeat, property misdemeanors. The jail is just one building in a complex of twelve facilities for 10,000 or more inmates. This school can accomodate only 400 youth; they are assigned to school regardless of interest or public school status. Many of them are drop outs, a few were special needs students, and most read two or more years below grade average when they were pretested in this program. Still, the school is not characterized as much by these factors as it is distinguished by its school spirit, which is a product of a highly visible and instructionally effective principal, and competent teachers who have high expectations for themselves as educators and for their students as able learners.

In this school program no opportunity to provide basic skills instruction is wasted. The teachers plan together. As a group they schedule group testing, adjust students' grade assignments at the end of each week's instruction, and develop school-made tests and instructional materials. The principal orchestrates these activities, linking class to class, grade to grade, and school to jail, thus

demonstrating technical as well as managerial expertise while maintaining an academic press. Moreover, rules are few and fairly enforced. There are meaningful incentives to increase the likelihood of their cooperation; for example, work papers are posted on the bulletin boards and good grades are obtainable and evenly recognized at student recognition ceremonies. Teachers also receive adequate feedback in the form of supervision and formal evaluation, in-service education and after school conferences. In fact, every resource is husbanded: manditory school attendance, instructional time on task, teaching supplies, and students' interests are turned into opportunities for academic excellence through the basic skills curriculum. Even the school corridors are decorated with murals depicting city scenes, punctuating that this place is special. Everything that happens here reflects the maverick schools' philosophy: What schools teach, students learn.

Maverick school is not the newest or the prettiest program plant, but it is prized by the students and staff alike. It is respected by the institution, too, because it is academically and behaviorally disciplined. This program boasts reading achievement test scores that are above grade average and an occurrence of in-school disruption less frequent and severe than other public school programs. Since

this teaching staff was assembled, children have advanced from grade one to grade six with an average of 650 hours of instruction and there have been no thefts, fights, or weapons and drug sales or exchanges, even as the rest of the jail continues to experience regularly acts of serious violence and vandalism (Schriro, 1984: p. 58). The remainder of this monograph will attempt to show in some detail what makes mavericks different and how problem, ritualistic and opportunistic schools can be converted into a maverick service delivery system.

PART II

CURRENT PRACTICES

There is still widespread confusion about the fundamental differences between classroom discipline and intellectual discipline. Depending on their beliefs about the school's mission, some educators prefer to achieve discipline by stimulating intellectual inquiry (Dewey, 1916, p. 150) and others by restricting the unsolicited thoughts and actions of every child in the classroom (Bauer, 1984).

This confusion is not the schools' alone. It is found also among other of the mandatory service providers who, as was discussed in Part I, have to keep large numbers of energetic but poorly motivated and otherwise disadvantaged children safe while giving them shelter, schooling, and socialization skills. Many day care centers, hospitals, detention facilities, and schools use what is sometimes referred to as the psycho-biological approach and try to make change happen by changing individual "trouble makers"; they identify, refer, test, and adjust "problem" children's attitudes, skills, and information. Others make change happen by changing aspects of the organization that seem to cause many children to fail, act out, or drop out. In the following sections, examples in the schools of both types of

approaches -- changing the individual student/changing the organization -- are discussed, and the successful use of the latter approach in the juvenile justice system is described.

The School -- System-wide Policies and Programs that Change Individual Students

Policies define the performance commitments of school systems. They define the ends which must be achieved so that societal (external) or organizational (internal) requirements are satisfied. Policy achievement is often measured by changes in the behavior of individual children. Eleven typical kinds of policy approaches are discussed here.

1. Legislative Initiatives. Recent court decisions have been interpreted to be so liberal that some fear these rulings may encourage students to think of themselves as beyond the law. Some states have responded by passing laws that mandate prison sentences or fines for students convicted of crimes against school personnel. New Jersey has such a law regarding aggravated assaults upon faculty or board members (AFT, 1983). Professional organizations have called for other protective measures (AFT, 1975, 1976, 1978, 1979, 1981) including statewide information banks and state interagency coordinating councils (Ohio Education Association,

1980). They have also continued to resist what they perceive to be interference by the federal government, notably the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) in the Department of Education. The OCR has a reputation among some teachers' groups as being too sensitive to the rights of children. For example, it monitors the numbers of children in different race and ethnic groups who receive disciplinary action or are placed in special or remedial classes. This, teachers feel, only reduces the appearance of discrimination while limiting their real discretionary powers as educators.

Some teachers' groups have lobbied to reverse several trends set by federal and state courts; for example, they want to restore the local districts' discretion regarding the frequency and severity of suspensions and expulsions (Wilson, 1983) and the earliest age at which unruly children may be dismissed from school (National Commission on Excellence in Education); and remove search and seizure guidelines for students' lockers and personal property (NYT, 19 August 1984).

2. Community Efforts. Increased parental support for school objectives in the home is preferred to increased parental involvement in the school (New York Times, 1972). One teachers' group has provided parents with "tips" that they can use at home

to teach their children how to behave in school (NEA, no date). Other groups have organized to help parents whose children are disciplined by evaluating whether the discipline was administered fairly and if the school violated their children's rights at some point in the disciplinary process (NCCE, 1983). Even school systems have initiated community programs. After-school programs, including parenting courses, adult education courses, teacher in-service seminars, and newsletters, have been used to improve formal communication between parent, community and school. Schools limit parental involvement in other specific ways, for example by restricting parents to roles as classroom and library volunteers or members of "crisis teams." A few school systems provide rent-free housing to one family only on or near its campus to discourage would-be trespassers and vandals; others have involved an entire neighborhood in crime watches (Howard, 1978, p. 37), using their homes as outposts.

3. Union Representation, Contractual Negotiations, and Contractual Provisions. Growing numbers of teaching groups have succeeded in negotiating teacher security clauses in their labor contracts with school departments. Included in this type of clause are procedures for teachers to follow in the event of an assault, automatic release from duties with pay to recover psychologically from a student assault,

guaranteed representation by counsel when teacher-initiated disciplinary measures are questioned by the school administration or the child's parents, and automatic monetary compensation for absences resulting from assault and ensuing incapacitation (American Educator, 1978, pp. 11-12). More unions are negotiating now for hazardous duty pay for their union members who are assigned to urban schools, for periodic rotations to different assignments, and for lower classroom ratios (Behavior Today, 1981, pp. 6-7).

Unions also routinely provide their membership with information on how to prevent assaults and how to press charges against students if they do occur (Muir, no date). Unions continue to press for release from nonprofessional duties such as the supervision of lunch rooms, corridors, lavatories, and playgrounds even though teachers are the ones who are able to separate those who belong in school from those who do not.

4. Increased Use of Security Hardware and Personnel. The installation of detection devices and the presence of security personnel are popular methods of controlling school crime, particularly substance abuse, arson, assault, larceny/theft, robbery, sex offenses, the possession of weapons, and vandalism (Blauvelt, 1981).

5. Suspension and Expulsion. Traditional suspension and expulsion programs are designed to remove students who

have violated (presumably serious) school rules from normal school activities for specified periods of time. In-school suspension is a disciplinary alternative to out-of-school suspension. In both instances, the average length of stay is three days; most districts require a minimum of one day and limit the maximum to ten. Suspension is not intended or organized to be an intensive remedial program. The central feature of every suspension and expulsion program is physical and social isolation. Classroom teachers assign regular classroom work to suspended students to complete by themselves at home or in the in-school detention center. Reentry to regular classes is at the school's discretion, by recommendation, after parent conference, or after the assigned work is completed. These practices have not been shown to deter students; frequent use usually results in a slight increase in the dropout rate.

6. Time-Out Rooms. Time-out rooms are intended to be comfortable places in which students can retreat and think things through for themselves. Overall, this strategy's potential to curb problems is diminished by instructional staff and students who, without training in behavior management techniques, have used time-out rooms at their own discretion. In many schools, in-school suspension and time-out rooms amount to the same thing.

7. Behavior Contracts. Behavior contracts are agreements between students and school officials. They are negotiated, written, and signed by both parties. The success of this technique is effective only to the extent to which the school recognizes the part that it played in the initial misbehavior and the degree to which it is willing to alter that situation.

8. Work Assignments. Sometimes a school will require students who have vandalized school property or have committed a theft on school grounds to do some extra work as a form of restitution to the school or the community.

9. Special Curricula. Law-related education programs have been introduced in a number of school systems (Bybee and Gee, 1982) in the hope that legal literacy may reduce subsequent criminality, particularly in the schools. Moral education, coursework which develops students' ability to make ethical judgments and exercise higher levels of moral reasoning, is offered in other districts (Kohlberg, 1974).

10. Compensatory and Remedial Education. Compensatory and remedial classes are supplemental services for children whose academic performance and social skills are poor. This approach assumes that by remedying these

deficiencies as a part of the regular program, the likelihood of the children's academic success, improved attendance, and better deportment will be greater. It is not the same as alternative education programs that reorganize the school's entire learning environment for special groups of children.

11. Tutoring. Some schools recruit parents, retirees, or classmates as volunteers to tutor failing students. Recent studies of experimental programs, particularly those that combine compensatory and alternative education practices, have concluded that the persons who serve as tutors may reap more benefits, academic and social, than the students who are being treated (see Public Education, 1982).

The School -- Strategies that Change the Students by Changing the Organization's School-Based Practices

By their very nature, the policies and programs just described only serve a segment of the school-aged population and so they cannot prevent other children's misbehaviors. Deterence and incapacitations are methods that simply do not work, not for adult criminals, juvenile delinquents or school-aged children. Research on instructionally effective schools shows that school-wide strategies that improve school climate do work. They result in less academic failure (Barr, Colston, and

Parrett, 1977), truancy and dropping out (Fizzell, 1979), violence (Duke and Perry, 1978), and vandalism (Berger, 1974). The effective schools research (Mann and Lawrence, 1981), an effective school being defined as one whose standardized achievement scores for all of its children, including those who are socioeconomically disadvantaged, are at or above national norms, began in the early 1970s. Since then seven major studies have identified the same six critical factors that consistently enhance student achievement and school safety (see Table 2). In this section these six aspects of primary preventive programs are described. Before proceeding, it is worth considering why achievement is still used as the primary indicator of school safety and soundness. There are several reasons. First, there is a large body of literature on the teaching and evaluation of education programs but a continuing absence of reliable reports about school disruption. Second, reading scores -- not incident reports -- are ordinarily used to rank schools. Third, the relationship between safe and sound schools is clearly established (Rutter et al., 1979). Last, school improvement is ultimately about instituting good school programs (Moles, 1979).

1. Characteristics of the Principal. The role of the principal is uniquely suited to reducing school disruptions.

Table 2. Summary of Within-School Factors Thought to Characterize the Instructionally Effective School

	EDMONDS (20 Detroit & 8 Lansing schools; achvmt. data & case analysis)	CLARK LOTTO MCCARTHY (Secondary analysis of 110 urban educ. studies + elite interviews)	VENESKY WINFIELD (rdg. programs of 2 urban, minority schools, 1 high, 1 low achvg.)	MADDEN LAWSON STREET (Controlled for class. 21 high achvg./low achvg. schools)	BROOKOVER LEZOTTE (6 improving, 2 declining Mich. schools)	AUSTIN (Secondary analysis of 4 SDE studies of "exceptional" schools)	MADAUS et al. (Re-examination of school effectiveness studies)
(a) Principal's characteristics & behavior	Strong leadership.	High expectations.	High expectations of reading achvmt.; high task orientation; works closely with specialists; high risk reading goals.	Directive about decisions, but "supportive" of teachers.	Assertive ldr., responsible for evaluation of accomplishment of objectives. High expectations of students.	Strong ldrshp., observes & teaches high prgrm. control, more experience & "pertinent" education. High expectations of all.	High expectations; high structure; clear goals.
(b) Teachers' characteristics & behavior	High expectations of children's minimum performance.	Staff devlpmt. progrms. with specific goals.	Confident, inventive, flexible, encourage students, maintain discipline; high staff dvlpmt.; low time on administrative tasks.	"Task oriented."	High expectations for all stdts. of beginning & of further academic achvmt. Feel responsible for tchg. "Accountable." Less satisfied.	More experience, more "pertinent" education. Warmer high expectations of students.	High expectations of students; provide structured clsrms., emphasize homework.
(c) School climate or atmosphere	Orderly, conducive to learning, quiet.	Structured learning environment.	High morale; effective use of praises; focus on student achvmt.		"Disciplined."		Student discipline & structured lrng. stressed. "Traditional values" of tchg. & lrng.

Table 2 (contd.)

	EDMONDS	CLARK LOTTO MCCARTHY	VENESKY WINFIELD	MADDEN STREET	BROOKOVER LEZOTTE	AUSTIN	MADAUS et al.
(d) Instrctnl. emphasis	Highest priority to pupil acquisition of basic skills.	Concentration on tchg. clear goals.	Highest priority to rdg. with clear goals; homogeneous grpgs. for rdg.; client-centered svcs., adaptable instrcts.	More time to soc. studies. More whole group instruction.	Emphasis on rdg. & math. More time invested.	Emphasis on cognitive dvlpmt. Longer instructal. day.	"Strong press for academic excellence." Emphasis on hmwk. & study.
(e) Pupil evaluation	Frequent.	"Individualized instruction."	Closely monitored student program.	Yes.	Tchrs. accept pupil test results as measure of their adult performance.	Teacher-made tests.	Tests closely related to syllabus. Test taking skills stressed.
(f) Resources	Flexible allocation to follow priorities.	Small classes, more adults. Outside, extra money.	Availability & coordination of extra personnel, time & mtrls. suplmntry. mtrls.	Many adult volunteers, fewer paid aides, high access to addtnl. materials.	Not high use of paraprofessionals.	"Close involvement" of tchrs. & paras with pupils.	"Shared purposefulness" among school persons & home.

Source: Dale Mann and Judy Lawrence, "Instructionally Effective Schools," Impact 16 (Summer 1981): pp. 5-10.

The school principal is responsible for working conditions, instruction, and the implementation of policy. The principal has and keeps a clear, long-term program-wide view of the school even as it is revealed to and shaped by the school community. An effective principal sets priorities, then elicits the necessary support and allocates sufficient resources so as to achieve the central mission of the school. The best principal also intervenes directly in most instructional and organizational aspects of the classroom and school that are likely to influence the achievement of these priorities.

As an instructional leader the principal behaves very much like a master or head teacher. In fact, the concept of the IES principalship restores instructional leadership as a major administrative concern. As instructional leader the principal defines, communicates, and executes ideas about classroom instruction, the selection and use of curricula, and the teaching/learning purposes of the school. Instructional policies are not made without teacher input: The key to effective instructional leadership is the principal's ability to encourage broad-based involvement in decision-making without giving up any administrative authority. Leadership is more than one or some individually dynamic people or innovative practices;

it is the aggregate effect of program growth, the linking of learning activities and people over time.

As an organizational administrator, the principal conducts the business of schooling like a business. The school's affairs are run with an eye to the future: Educational outcomes are as important as the educational processes. Resources are allocated to the school's two most important outcomes -- academic excellence and personal safety.

The principal extends his/her span of control over faculty, students, and school building through frequent teacher observations and a comprehensive staff development program, ongoing parental involvement, and the establishment of a student governance system with as few and as fair rules as possible. Interpersonal relationships are based on mutual respect; rewards are organized so that meaningful incentives are accessible to the entire school community.

Clearly, the leadership style of the principal affects school safety and school governance (NIE, 1977). The principal has the authority to set expectations for staff and students and to reward good behavior (Phi Delta Kappa, no date). Five of the ways in which the school's leadership sets expectations and reinforces good practices are through: (1) the personal style of the principal, particularly visibility and availability; (2) commitment to instructional

leadership; (3) the exercise of administrative control; (4) the initiation of a governance system or a structure for order that is fair, firm, and consistently enforced; and (5) accessibility to the community at large (Howard, 1978, pp. 55-56; Ianni and Reuss-Ianni, 1980).

Instructionally effective schools are supported by central office administrators who reduce unnecessary disruptions in services caused by poor delivery and repair schedules and excessive requests for information or reports. Clearly, the best program management is management that is collaborative.

2. Teacher Expectations. Inside of the classroom, teachers are instructional leaders, too. Their effectiveness is directly related to entry skills, supervision, peer influence, and staff development; it is not necessarily reflected in student ratings. In general, teachers offer both intellectual and classroom discipline when there is enough subject preparation, presentation of appropriate and sufficient learning materials, early and frequent success, good time management, and classroom control. Effective teachers continuously assess and monitor student achievement, primarily with criterion-referenced materials. Teachers also influence the learning environment by believing in every student's potential to learn and by expressing

their confidence in students through high expenditures of energy and the regular use of positive labels. Effective teachers also support institutional policies, plan cooperatively, share information, are good role models, and maintain harmonious relations with colleagues. Individuals who are effective teachers do not make an instructionally effective or safe school; they contribute to it.

Several dimensions of teachers' instructional style are as important as their perceptions about themselves as teachers or about their students and the school overall. In fact, their instructional management seems to directly influence students' behavior in learning settings. The most effective teachers are those who vary board demonstrations with individual seat work and small group discovery learning. They use colorful, contemporary, supplemental materials and audiovisual teaching tools; fine arts are incorporated into instruction, too. These teachers seek out and try to learn more about the specific interests of their students.

According to Kounin (1970), the best teachers use five basic group management techniques to increase opportunities for learning and decrease the likelihood of classroom disruptions. The five strategies are: (1) "withitness" and overlapping, one way in which teachers communicate that they are aware of everything that is

occurring in the classroom; (2) smoothness and momentum, the style with which movement is managed during instruction and at transition points between lessons; (3) group altering and accountability, two variables that suggest the degree to which a teacher is able to maintain a group focus during periods of individual instruction; (4) valence and challenge arousal, another two ways in which teachers manage or reduce boredom by enhancing the attraction of or increasing the challenge of regular classroom activities; and (5) seat work variety and challenge, the extent to which there is a variety of challenging material, particularly when it is independent seat work (see also Kounin and Gump, 1958). The NEA (1979; 1980) incorporated these practices in its L.E.A.S.T. approach (L.E.A.S.T. is an acronym for Leave it alone-End the action-Attend more fully-Spell out directions-Track the student's progress); the NEA specifically recommended that children with problems should be identified early and provided with immediate but nonreactive interventions.

3. School Climate. Instructionally effective and nondisruptive schools are primarily concerned with the educational development of the entire student body. School learning climate (Lezotte, 1981) encompasses the educational environment in the entire school. Patterns and

practices common to the school as a whole are more important than patterns and practices which are unique to individual classrooms or grades.

An effective school learning environment endures because of underlying norms, beliefs, and attitudes that keep building-based teacher practices, teaching patterns, and student outcomes alive. They all have at least six important school learning climate dimensions: (1) Staff believe in the learning potential of all students; (2) Staff believe in their ability to teach students the official curriculum; (3) Staff believe in the school's role in American society in educating its young; (4) Staff prefer collaborative work to absolute professional autonomy; (5) Recognizing the need for coordination and control, staff suppport the school's leadership; and (6) Staff contribute to a business-like environment by conveying through their own behaviors a sense of importance about teaching and learning activities. Some educators also feel that the way in which staff use and maintain the physical plant is another important indicator of the importance of teaching and learning activities in a school community; examples include maintenance of the grounds, current bulletin board displays in classrooms and corridors, immediate repair or replacement of furniture, equipment, windows, etc.

To summarize, a good way to govern a school is to have a competent instructional manager who coordinates the staff with a comprehensive curriculum. School rules enhance this process, too, to the extent that their nature, number, and consequences help a school to achieve its student-centered purposes (Duke and Seidman, 1981, p. 9). It is recommended that rules are (1) understood by staff and students; (2) few in number; (3) fair in design; and (4) consistently enforced (ACLU, 1977; NCCE, 1984; NIE, 1977; Parsons, 1959, p. 250; Polk and Schaefer, 1978, pp. 146-7; Wilson, 1983, pp. 247-8). Conceivably, schools can function effectively with only two basic rules -- one governing attendance, the other concerning the rights of others (Duke and Seidman, 1981, p. 11). With regard to the first, it should be stated who is entitled to an education and under what circumstances; and with regard to the latter, who is authorized to enforce the school's rules and under what circumstances (NYCLU, 1978).

4. Instructional Emphasis on Basic Skills. Districts make difficult choices about what to include in the curriculum and how to present it to the children (Berliner, 1981). Every decision about instructional activities is a complex one, requiring considerable thought about the relationship between school, grade, and class, the content

of the subject, available time, and the goals of instruction. It matters less what the instructional strategy or teaching style is (Lotto, Clark, and McCarthy, 1981, p. 14). The safest and soundest schools are characterized by precise curricular missions or emphases, appropriate and adequate teaching materials, sufficient instructional and support staff, and ongoing staff development programs. The goals are most often expressed in terms of equity rather than excellence; widespread acquisition of basic skills is more important than enrollments in CLEP (College Level Examination Program) or gifted programs. The principal is key to this expression. As the instructional leader, s/he must establish and maintain a consensus for the school's emphasis on curricular objectives.

5. Pupil Evaluation. Remedial programs only test and diagnose children who are underachieving and misbehaving; instructionally effective schools regularly evaluate every student's progress to ensure that learning objectives are set, linked together, and met in teaching and learning activities (Berliner, 1981). Frequent testing, monitoring of seat work, and group discussions are all components of individualized instruction, a teacher-designed environment in which all students eventually experience high levels of success regardless of their initial perceptions of themselves as learners.

Besides academic achievement there are other, secondary indicators of a school's success that can be evaluated: (1) marked changes in attitude (in self, among and between teachers, students, and supervisors, with community) and a general lessening of the fear of crime; (2) an actual reduction in the severity, number, and cost of school disruptions (numbers of school rules, discipline referrals, corporal punishment, suspensions and expulsions); and (3) improved student attendance (less absenteeism, less cutting, less truancy, less dropping out), more graduates, and more job placements (Research for Better Schools, Inc., 1976, p. 57).

6. Resources. Equality of opportunity should not be measured by dollar input but by the intensity of the school's overall effort to achieve an equality of outputs (Coleman, 1968). This is also the premise of all IES research: the ways in which schools spend their district's resources (the budget, administrators and staff, instructional time, curriculum and curriculum pacing, physical space, students, class size, rewards and punishments, community involvement, public relations including the school's reputation for safety) determine how many students will achieve because of the program itself. Under no circumstances are the children's biosocial-psychological

characteristics considered reasons to fail. Schools impact directly and immediately on every student. For example, the academic learning time, the portion of the lesson when the students are actually engaged with materials or activities, is closely related to the number of children who consistently experience high rates of success. In less effective schools the academic learning time is always less than the time allocated for instruction. In these places, there are more opportunities for failure and boredom, low self-esteem, and misbehavior.

What Works in Juvenile Justice

The schools are not alone as targets of criticism. Critics have been decrying the inefficacy of rehabilitative programs, too, particularly programs for repeat and chronic juvenile offenders. At best, what happened while such offenders were under supervision was said to have made no difference or to have had no relation to what occurred "on the street." At worst, the programs were said to have stigmatized youth who were already disadvantaged while leaving the community at large unprotected.

The discontent with diversionary programs, alternatives to incarceration, became particularly intense as a result of the problems generated by the disproportionately

small number of youth -- less than 3 percent of the under-18 population -- who were arrested for all serious crimes committed by adolescents. The cost of this delinquency has been estimated to exceed ten billion dollars (F.B.I., 1980). The assertion that these treatment programs made no difference, particularly for repeat and chronic juvenile offenders, received its most vocal expression in the Lipton, Martinson, and Wilkes report (1975). They, too, questioned the ability of any particular method of treatment -- in this case, education and vocational training, group counseling, psychotherapy, medical treatment -- to reduce recidivism, the phenomenon which reflects most directly how well those programs perform the task of rehabilitating delinquents. Since then, it has become very fashionable to say that "nothing works."

Now, there is considerable evidence that there is a one-program model, a holistic design, that is able to regulate several key and alterable, within-program factors -- the director and staff, case management, the treatment environment, the range of services, and other resources -- and significantly reduce recidivism. These key factors are the same factors that reduce the likelihood of school-based delinquency (Hawkins and Wall, 1980; Rutter et al., 1979) and prevent delinquency that is community-based (McDermott, November 1982; Weis and Sederstrom, 1981).

The following section, which discusses these key factors, is based on a survey completed in 1984 of exemplary programs for serious juvenile offenders. These programs are the Green Oak Center, Whitmore Lake, Ill.; Highfields Residential Group Center, Hopewell, N.J.; Project New Pride, Denver, Col.; Providence Educational Center, St. Louis, Mo.; and Unified Delinquency Intervention Services, Chicago, Ill. (Schriro and Mann, in process).

1. Director's Characteristics. Delinquency prevention and intervention research has supported strongly a relationship between leader behavior -- not personal characteristics (e.g., age, sex, race) -- and program effectiveness. Leadership in the surveyed programs was visible, clearly communicated, and heuristic. It seemed that effective leaders did more; they framed goals and objectives, set standards of performance, created a productive working environment, and obtained needed staff and political and financial support.

Leaders had technical as well as managerial skills; they successfully mastered many of the tasks that their staff perform, they participated as members in staff development and group counseling activities, they supervised case conferencing, and they knew every child in their programs by name.

Last, these leaders took a frank, problem-solving, trial-and-error attitude toward their work; they initiated evaluation and invited outside assessments; they used program outcomes to guide new program initiatives.

2. Staff Characteristics. All professional and paraprofessional direct care staff in the surveyed programs -- teachers, tutors, work supervisors, case managers or "educateurs," counselors or social workers, and recreation therapists -- were experienced decision-makers and problem-solvers, too. They were involved in all critical decisions which occurred before, during, and after the delivery of program services.

The survey also suggested that staff selected or structured learning situations that bore some direct relationship to reduced recidivism; case conferences were structured opportunities to diagnose, prepare, and evaluate the relative strengths and weaknesses of individual children; and services and security provisions were intensified or modified as necessary.

The delivery of services was always initiated by staff. Like teachers, they were the ones who were responsible for "getting the kids' attention." Engagement was ongoing; staff exhibited high expectations for themselves as service providers and for their clients; they structured

early and frequent successes, provided immediate and meaningful rewards and punishments, and developed realistic learning environments and meaningful day-long learning experiences. The premature or unsatisfactory terminations of children were described universally by staff members as "the kids we lost."

Advocacy and negotiation extended staff influence over the learning environment into the community. During the transitional period of the child's reintegration, called mainstreaming in educational circles, staff arranged for other key players -- family, school, church, law enforcement agencies -- to assist the child in his/her own management of support systems until the processes related to socialization had been rehearsed and internalized. Children were most often terminated when they felt ready for release.

3. Skills Emphasis. Delinquency research has shown that intervention should be directed toward the causes of serious delinquency, which are interactional, not individual (Fagan, Jones, Hartstone, Rudman and Emerson, 1981) and that treatment, like education, should have a social skills focus rather than a medical, let's-do-something-to-or-for-the-delinquent orientation. The successful programs in the survey were characterized by precise missions or emphases; the outcomes were often expressed in terms of the acquisition

of skills -- academic, vocational, social or communication, career, stipended work -- that have been associated with reduced recidivism.

These programs were required to provide as much skills instruction as public schools are. Certified teachers provided the academic instruction, typically remedial basic skills or special education for the learning disabled and developmentally delayed student; paraprofessionals were hired to tutor and to monitor computer-assisted instruction (CIA). Career education emphasized job-finding skills whereas stipended work experiences (construction, landscaping, sales), vocational education, and chores stressed job-keeping habits; none were intended to provide specific skills training. Job-finding skill training was coordinated by business and industry representatives. Both individual guidance and group counseling, most often, guided group interaction (Stephenson and Scarpilli, 1974; Weeks, 1958), structured daily opportunities for children to discuss the day's events, to identify the values underlying their reactions, and to evaluate their behaviors. Social workers or psychologists monitored communication and social skills practice and were responsible for guidance and counseling activities.

4. Case Management. Studies have revealed the fallacy of lumping all types of serious juvenile offenders together as though by virtue of their crimes they were identical in needs (Glaser, 1966). We know that this is true for special needs students, too. The survey bore this out. Successful programs did not treat all youth in a predominantly similar manner; continuous case management individualized the prescription of services through a process of intake diagnosis and ongoing evaluation.

Diagnositic intake included a family history, criminal history, educational and vocational testing, a medical examination, and a personal interview.

Case management formalized communication between service providers, and provided frequent informal assessments and program modifications, including team decisons about restrictions on children's independent movement. Typically, case conferencing was coordinated and documented by an "educateur" (a specialized child care worker) and community liaison or advocate (Linton, 1971). Continuous case management was most effective when the director was present as a participant, the client:staff ratio was small, meetings were scheduled regularly, and there were adequate secretarial or computer-monitored supports to maintain current and complete client records.

5. Climate Characteristics. Research has shown that a program's learning climate -- the norms, beliefs, and attitudes reflected in day-to-day practices and communication patterns that enhance or impede clients' successes -- was affected by a wide range of environmental dimensions such as choice of instructional materials, staff, physical plant, use of security hardware, and opportunities for privacy. In each instance, the prevailing normative patterns affected the group's productivity and the individuals' sense of satisfaction.

Again, the survey bore this out. Effective programs were characterized by directors and staff who expressed belief in their clients' potential for success. This belief was reflected in the program plans and program rules that they developed, modified, and communicated to individual participants, in their own confidence that as a professional team they had facilitated the learning processes, in the staff's acceptance of the director's program and management leadership, and in the group's widespread belief that the program had an important role to play in the juvenile justice system. There was no security hardware and there were no security personnel and there were few reasons for children to rebel. The resulting atmosphere was businesslike, free of vandalism, physically safe, and humane.

6. Resource Management. Key resources in the rehabilitative process -- time, staff, public funding and private contributions, the instructional materials, family support, community confidence -- have been shown to continually affect the decisions that determine the quality of the learning environment in delinquency prevention and intervention programs (Murnane, 1975) and their stature in the treatment community.

The survey discussed here suggested that the best program day had few unstructured or unsupervised activities; the program plan allowed enough time for providing basic skills instruction and practice. Staff were qualified for the positions they held; a cost-saving combination of professional and paraprofessional workers was common. Technical assistance, inservice training, and staff development were most often focused on specific program objectives or processes or on the development of new instructional materials.

Successful programs had also proven to be survivors of fiscal cutbacks or crises. Each director had developed a board of directors to raise private funds and to staff ongoing public relations efforts. It was not uncommon for the programs to own and operate highly visible businesses to guarantee work for their clients if it seemed unlikely that youth could be placed in community-based jobs otherwise.

A STRATEGY FOR ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

Up to this point the monograph has made two major points which can be summarized as follows: First, most of the causes for disruption that occur inside schools and other mandatory service programs for adolescents are institution-specific: the organization itself -- its basic structures, processes and symbols -- prevents, advances, or compromises its educative and socializing goals; individual children have little to do with the organization's ability to succeed (Brookover and Lezotte, 1979; Purkey and Smith, 1983; Rutter et al., 1979). And second, instructionally effective and safe programs incorporate the following six structures, processes, and symbols into their change strategies:

1. The principal's or director's characteristics and behavior as the programmatic and organizational leader, including the development of instructional or other program goals and practices, establishment of curriculum, interaction with teaching or treatment staff in curricular and instructional matters, and implementation of policies and procedures;

2. Staff characteristics and behavior, including treatment or instructional goals; classroom or other instruction; pupil/client diagnosis and evaluation; interaction with principal or director, staff, parents, and children; expectations of role as a professional; low client:staff ratio; and diverse, positive adult role models;

3. An organizational climate that is physically safe, psychologically positive, and exhibits good building security, maintenance, and environment; services are provided in the least restrictive setting and all possible efforts to mainstream are made; there is an absence of security hardware; and there are few enough enrollees that children are not redundant;

4. Instructional and rehabilitative emphasis on basic social, academic, and prevocational skills through school or program-wide objectives, curriculum, materials, experiences, and instructional methods; clear tasks; sequential and cumulative learning; early and frequent successes; immediate, meaningful rewards and punishments; a variety of teaching techniques and instructional materials; realistic learning environments; meaningful training programs; and compensation for work performed by youth;

5. Ongoing assessments of each child's progress through achievement and ability testing, effective record-keeping, individualized instruction, support services, communication of progress with parents and child, and continuous, informal assessments and program modifications;

6. Allocation of basic resources such as time, space, personnel, materials, incentives, and reputation in ways commensurate with achieving the program's goals, close monitoring of leisure time as appropriate; and aggressive client advocacy in every instance.

With these points established, it is possible now to develop a strategy for organizational change and to describe how staff, a director, and students/clients can be coalesced into a maverick service delivery system through ten fundamental organizational structures and four basic interactive processes. (Remember, it remains the responsibility of the leadership to create and coordinate these structural and procedural variables. It is never the child's job to make the plan work.)

The development of structures precedes the establishment of relationships so the ten critical structural variables precede the four interactive processes in this model. (See Table 3.)

Structural Variables

1. School-site Management. The locus and span of control reaches furthest from the point of implementation (not the point of idealization) of the organization's mission. It is incumbent on the director to have and to use sufficient discretion and autonomy to determine the exact ways in which academic performance will be improved. The process of where to begin and how to proceed is inherently discretionary and will be determined in part by past practices. The director must continuously span the boundaries between classrooms, grades, etc. Some change can be softly made by increasing the understanding of the district or municipal agency and thus its cooperation in these program matters. If time is short, more forceful change can be brought about by enforcing the letter and the intent of the law.

By the same token, central office can aggressively pursue the improvement of service by expecting more innovation from the director and offering additional resources. It can make the best use of its current program by allocating the best of those resources. It can also

TABLE 3. ACHIEVING ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

Organizational Structure Variables	Indicators
1. School Site Management	Principal/director has discretion and autonomy over school improvement; central office allocates adequate support resources
2. Instructional Leadership	Leader sets clear purposes and goals; identifies problems and school-based solutions
3. Administrative Supports	Administration creates school-community linkages for sharing information, problems, solutions
4. Staff Stability	Low turnover, absenteeism, tardiness
5. Agency-initiated Staff Development	Clear job descriptions; frequent evaluations; development activities to update skills
6. Curriculum Articulation and Organization	Program directed toward student acquisition of basic skills; comprehensive assessment of student progress over time
7. Maximized Learning Time	Students engaged in meaningful activities during all time allocated to learning
8. Formal Recognition of Academic Programs	Symbols and rituals used to celebrate student achievement
9. Community Involvement and Support	Community linkages provide advocacy, funding support, political stability for program
10. Minimum, Site-Specific Resources	At least minimally adequate provision for capable staff, sufficient instructional time, adequate space, library, cafeteria

TABLE 3 (contd.)

Interactive Process Variables	Indicators
1. Order and Discipline	Focus on disciplined academic achievement and classroom management; staff has authority and responsibility for maintaining order in the school
2. Clear Goals and High Expectations	Used to direct energies, channel resources, elicit cooperation of staff, children, parents, and community
3. Collaborative Planning and Collegial Relationships	High degree of cooperation among staff; programs and services planned to involve sharing and interaction; agreed-upon outcomes; administration creates formal communication networks
4. Sense of Community	Entire school shares goals and ideology; activities generate achievements which benefit all

reduce unnecessary disruptions in services due to poor delivery or repair schedules or excessive requests for information or reports. As argued earlier, the best program management is clearly that management which is collaborative.

2. Instructional Leadership. There can be no school or program improvement project without a programmatic leader. For example, the instructional leader sets the school's agenda through the selection of the curriculum, supervision of instruction, frequent student evaluation, coordination of support services, and the elicitation of community support. The instructional leader articulates the major purposes for the school and systematically disseminates its purposes to the widest possible audience.

The leadership also identifies instructional problems and develops school-based solutions. Several of the major problems that typically confront any program with serial enrollment involve the scope and sequence of instruction. First, the basic skills that reflect the school's primary instructional goals must be isolated. Then, after that which every student should learn has been identified, discrete activities that lead to the acquisition of those skills must be developed. Each lesson should stand alone as a discrete unit as well as fit logically within the curriculum.

The roles of the department head and the "educateur" (the specialized child care worker and advocate) have been uniquely developed to fulfill the responsibilities of the instructional leader. The role is visible. The person in the role is accessible to child and parent alike. The person is also authorized by the educational or treatment community to work as the official representative of the program. The "educateur" must also assume the role of instructional representative to the school and attend all staff meetings and related staff development activities.

3. Administrative Supports. The school may succeed without administrative supports for a limited period of time, but it cannot survive as a public program if the district does not link school and community together.

Inside the system, the central administrators should schedule formal, regular meetings for department, program, and community people. The purpose of these meetings is to facilitate communication by creating opportunities for problem-sharing and solving, and by reducing the isolation and replication of services that comes when one is confined to a classroom or program area. The administration must also make available to every program person as appropriate pertinent intake information that is collected by different agencies or divisions within an agency. Where professional

rules of conduct have slowed this practice, professional organizations and the unions should be approached. The central administration should always push to improve and expand program services beyond that which is minimally required.

4. Staff Stability. Teacher turnover should be permitted to the extent that nonproductive and unskilled workers are expunged from the program. The loss of productive workers, however, is not desirable and is usually an indicator of serious structural or interactional faults in the school's organization. Absenteeism and tardiness, which also dilute school improvement efforts by disrupting the daily routines, should be moderated through the use of meaningful sanctions and incentives. Fulltime and parttime salaried employees are always preferable to personnel who are paid at an hourly rate. Little economy is to be gained from any person who refuses to prepare in advance of the program day.

5. Agency-initiated Staff Development. Staff with prerequisite skills must continue to regenerate their idealism and update their skills through the group process. Until the treatment or school staff are able to recognize what an effective program looks like, the leadership must evaluate their own performance and make informed judgments about their own school improvement projects alone.

Staff development must be preceded by clear job descriptions and frequent informal and scheduled formal performance evaluations. The observation instrument used to evaluate staff should accurately reflect the job to be done and it should be posted prior to formal evaluation. Evaluation should lead to professional improvement plans. Staff must agree to their plan for professional development and they should participate in the planning of their staff development programs. Sufficient coverage, time, and expense money should be made available so that all staff who should attend an inservice program, do. As necessary, guest lecturers and local colleges and universities should be used as resources.

The district or parent agency should also provide an overview of the school or treatment program to the community.

6. Curriculum Articulation and Organization. The program's energies and resources should be directed toward the students' or clients' acquisition of basic skills. This goal may be accomplished best through a two-part process. First, every child should participate in a thorough educational diagnostic process and prevocational/job-readiness assessment. It should be administered and analyzed by the same instructional staff who will be assigned to work

with the child. Salient information from previous schools or programs should be collected at this time and incorporated into the findings. Copies of that assessment should be kept by the child, the family, and the service providers. Second, every child should continue to take teacher-made tests and the program should be adjusted according to the rate of mastery and learning style.

The program should be characterized by expressly stated prostudent expectations which are reflected in the types of instruction, the hours for instruction, the relative availability of requisite and elective classes, the quality of the physical class space, and opportunities for the program's rituals and routines to formally recognize student achievement. The curriculum should be uniform throughout the district or system, particularly if the student body is highly mobile. The curriculum should make several assumptions, too. They are as follows. First, students can learn. Second, students should be as prepared to enter the world of work after study as they are prepared to enter a college program. Skills essential to their integration into the world of work should be included in the classroom. The selection of texts and other teaching materials should reflect these two assumptions. Third, the curriculum must appear valid to the community, too. They, like the students, want quantifiable outcomes; they

recognize traditional school products. In fact, they may have as many educational or treatment needs as the children do. To the extent that it is possible to secure additional resources, adult education courses and counseling should also be made available. The program must serve the needs of the children first, the staff and community, second.

7. Maximized Learning Time. Programs must use their time for instruction to its fullest. Students should be engaged in meaningful activities during all of the time allocated to learning academic or social skills. The director should be visible and when excessive delays, interruptions, or termination of services are discovered, sanctions must be given to those faculty.

With adequate planning and preparation, good classroom management, sufficient and interesting material, properly applied computer-assisted instruction, the skilled use of peer tutors, learning labs, and small group instruction, the staff can make more efficient use of instructional time. The director can assist in the frequent testing and regrouping of children, the preparation of new and supplemental materials, supervision of and participation in team teaching, teacher observation and evaluation, and the communication of program expectations to the community.

8. Formal Recognition of the Academic Programs. The program's culture is communicated to its public through ceremonies and other symbols and rituals that celebrate student achievement. Programs promote proeducational norms and values by creating real opportunities to measure the school's success. This can be accomplished through formal practices such as tests, student-written newspapers, letters from school to home (or court), and by publicly honoring students' success through student recognition ceremonies and graduations. Sufficient notice should be given and the time should be convenient so that parents can participate. Informal practices must be developed as well, for example, class competitions and the display of student products on bulletin boards in the school area. Boards should be changed frequently and not during the instructional day. Students' early efforts should be rewarded immediately and formal awards should occur frequently enough to reflect the rate of student turnover.

Rewards should be as meaningful to the community as they are for the children. The seeking of special honors and engaging in elective accreditation processes are important and their acquisition increases the prestige of the program overall.

9. Community Involvement and Support. When delivering education and juvenile justice services, it is essential, particularly during fiscal crises, that all of the programs have a constituency outside of the agency that ordinarily funds them. Community linkages can also serve as an effective buffer for the school during other political situations such as leadership changes in state or local government. Advocacy groups can recapture the public's attention and mobilize civic groups to work as litigants for change in educational and juvenile justice circles, too. Alternative and supplemental sources of funding should be identified also in order to finance improvement projects. And the programs should be identified as recipients of tax-deductible gifts from foundations, public and private libraries and publishers, corporations, and manufacturers of educational hardware and software.

10. Minimum, Site-Specific Resources. Minimum amounts of limited resources must be available to the program so that basic skills instruction is provided as needed to all children. Every program should provide no less than the following: (1) Consistent, adequate coverage: A smaller teacher-to-student ratio supplemented by teacher aides may be more effective than special classes that segregate portions of the program's participants. (2) Capable staff,

including a director, treatment and instructional staff, and an educational specialist. Certification is insufficient as proof of competence. (3) Stabilized attendance: Faculty and children should both attend regularly and promptly. Student suspension, expulsion, and premature graduation or termination should be avoided at all costs. (4) Adequate scheduling of one-to-one, engaged program time. (5) Sufficient space: Program areas should be free from visual and auditory distractions and temperature controlled. There must be room enough for flexible seating for small group instruction and study carrels for independent work. It is important to have safe but private places where children can retreat occasionally. The program should also have secure storage and bulletin boards to display participants' products. (6) Enough consumable supplies to outfit every new enrollee. (7) Enough resources and instructional materials to accommodate the average daily attendance.

Other resources that should be made available include: libraries, one for staff, another for the children; a lounge/study area with extended hours; a student commissary stocked with reasonably priced, always-in-stock school supplies; and a cafeteria that supplies healthful and interestingly presented foods.

Process Variables

Structural variables are necessary but not sufficient. Four process variables must also be in place to regulate the school ethos and shape the general concept of the school culture. Indeed, absent a proprogram climate, the structural variables could as easily support other or less inclusive goals than the education or reeducation of children.

1. Order and Discipline. Typically, the most difficult aspect of any school improvement project or other organizational adjustment is that often there is no common perception or shared, felt need for change. In the absence of the universal expectation of minimum performance, order and discipline are one process to ensure cooperative activity.

The seriousness and purpose with which the school approaches its own tasks cannot be delegated to any other agency, ultimately because its authority in the community is no greater than its ability to deliver meaningful services efficiently and effectively. The school or other program must exact an expectation of excellence from its faculty and students/clients. It must set reasonably high goals and provide adequate supports to help every member of the school's community to succeed. In addition to

intellectual discipline, the school should develop reasonable rules, that is, standards for classroom management that can be enforced by consistently awarding or withholding meaningful sanctions from faculty or students. "Time-out" rooms are not condoned. The school must also assume the responsibility to police its own corridors and classrooms.

While the staff's authority is ascribed, it is not sovereign; it can be abused. The program has a responsibility to know what legal standards to apply and when to report faculty's or parents' misconduct as well as children's to law enforcement authorities. It must also have a formally recognized mechanism to remove unsatisfactory teachers.

2. Clear Goals and High Expectations. Instructionally effective schools must direct their energies and channel their resources to those tasks that they have identified as necessary for their students to acquire the basic skills. The use of clear goals and high expectations is a softer approach for changing people's behavior than rules are. It generally consumes fewer resources, too, and tends to have longer-lasting results. Clear goals and high expectations should be used in conjunction with order and discipline to elicit the continuous cooperation

of individual staff, the children, their parents, and the community. The school may best achieve this effect by extending an open invitation to share in the monitoring of the program's productivity and performance so as to teach everyone what to expect from an instructionally effective program. At the same time, the school must evaluate its own efficacy through teacher observation and evaluation, student posttesting, and monthly reporting of other program events, activities, and expenditures.

The leadership should also continuously monitor classroom activity and question past practices. In rehabilitation programs, followup studies and outreach should be conducted so as to ascertain the long-term effects of the intervention. The information from longitudinal studies can better inform future decision-making regarding the delivery of services.

There are other ways to bring attention to the business of schooling. The school should expect regular maintenance of all program areas; there should be no indication of institutional neglect such as peeling paint, overgrown grasses and shrubs, litter, or broken windows, clocks, electrical fixtures, etc.

3. Collaborative Planning and Collegial Relationships. Often, the school conducts its business as if it were a number of loosely connected programs and services in

competition with one another. But all school programs and services could -- and should -- collaborate. In fact, the only way in which the administration and educational and support staff eventually will satisfy their respective professional and legal obligations is by planning collaboratively and interacting with one another in a collegial manner. Again, the role of the program director is best suited to break down informal communication networks and pool information through formal channels within and between grades and subjects and to the central office and the community.

Sustained innovations are also characterized by cooperative efforts of administrative, educational, and support personnel. Instead of staff competing against one another in practices like pullout programs, remedial services could be delivered if staff worked collaboratively. With clearer goals and agreed-upon outcomes, different disciplines can be logically coordinated. The children are a part of the organization, too. They perform best if they are kept informed.

4. Sense of Community. No one likes to become involved in an activity that generates a lot of work and has few if any payoffs. Most participants prefer to provide and receive services that are perceived to be necessary, worthwhile, relatively trouble free, and fun. The best school

is one in which useful skills are taught in enjoyable ways. A sense of community is not an agreement to do things differently; it is an agreement to do things better for the group. It is the aggregate effect of upward linking. In the end, although structures may be built by strong task-oriented leaders, processes endure because the underlying ideology is embraced by the school as a whole.

MAPPING BACKWARDS

The closer one is to the source of a problem, the greater is one's ability to influence it (Elmore, 1979-80). Thus, the best place to begin to make change happen is at the point of service delivery. In the remaining pages of this monograph is an administrative assessment instrument. It should prove useful in identifying the need for and the planning of building-based school change and improvement projects. The observation instrument incorporates the characteristics of, criteria for, and indicators of instructionally effective and safe programs. It is designed to assist the school or treatment community in a program-wide analysis.

AN OBSERVATION INSTRUMENT TO EVALUATE THE INSTRUCTIONAL EFFECTIVENESS OF A SCHOOL OR REHABILITATIVE PROGRAM©

Criteria	Indicators	Findings	Conclusions	Recommendations
	Administrative Characteristics: Instructional Leadership			
Establishes school-wide goals and practices	Establishes, demonstrates, and enforces school-wide goals and practices; relates them to the formal mission.			
Coordinates instruction within and across BE, pre-GED, and GED groups	Coordinates activities between and among teachers. Maintains properly matched teaching activities.			
Regularizes staff interaction; systematic communication	Holds staff meetings regularly. Communicates with teachers in a timely and complete fashion. Ensures that staff interactions support school-wide planning activities.			
Conducts frequent teacher observations	Conducts regular formal and frequent informal observations.			
Offers more than pro forma curriculum implementation; guarantees, extends, and revises	Continuously adapts and extends curriculum. New subjects are added within existing resources. Modifications are made for special education population.			
Links curriculum development to pupil achievement	Concentrates efforts on classes that serve majority of student body, probably BE (Basic Education) and pre-GED (General Education Diploma). Provides special support for GED students prior to test.			

Criteria	Indicators	Findings	Conclusions	Recommendations
Exercises entrepreneurship	Repairs existing equipment. Seeks assistance of outsiders. Uses institutional resources and capitalizes on teacher interests to provide special and regular projects.			
	Administrative Characteristics: Organizational Leadership			
Communicates policies systematically and across all areas with staff	Holds weekly staff meetings. Makes timely, accurate, legible reports. Uses memos effectively.			
Enforces duties and performance expectations of staff	Exceeds minimum requirements. Is knowledgeable of contractual obligations. Models and reinforces positive teacher attitude and behaviors. Enforces contract even at risk of conflict with staff.			
Communicates with Juvenile Justice Agency	Works cooperatively with all court/juvenile justice personnel. Meets regularly with them and with Board of Education personnel. Is involved with program officer training.			

Criteria	Indicators	Findings	Conclusions	Recommendations
Communicates with parents and community	Encourages parental and community involvement through student recognition ceremonies, letters of commendation, post-release placements, etc.			
Communicates effectively with subordinates and peers	Is attentive to students and staff. Explains and enforces educational policy. Defends student interests effectively. Is active in professional associations. Plays leadership role in staff development activities.			
Delivers supplies and provides material supports	Orders adequate quantities of supplies in a timely fashion. Supplements texts with school-made materials.			
Provides for staff input	Encourages feedback. Uses schoolwide planning teams. Shares concerns with staff. Is personable, accessible.			
Provides staff development procedures	Evidences commitments to improve staff skills. Plans and conducts staff development programs in collaboration with staff. Evaluates and revises activities. Bases activities on identified needs.			

Criteria	Indicators	Findings	Conclusions	Recommendations
	Teacher Characteristics, Perceptions about Self, Students, and School			
Teacher believes can teach all children in class	Reflects belief in planning, preparation, and classroom behavior.			
Teacher believes all children can learn	Reflects belief in planning, preparation, and classroom behavior; time spent with different achievement groups.			
Teacher has high expectations for children	Communicates high expectations in word and action.			
Teacher sets goals which challenge students	Distributes material which permits a high percentage of success. Changes performance expectations as student changes performance.			
Teacher displays professionalism	Shares methods and ideas with other teachers. Models good work habits, attitudes, and collegial relations. Spends extra time with students. Makes out-of-building visits, attends workshops, conferences, and courses.			
Teacher disregards individual (socio-economic and educational) deficiencies and institutional constraints	Behaves as if it is not difficult to teach most inmates. Does not excuse students' lack of performance. Does not excuse institution's lack of cooperation.			

Criteria	Indicators	Findings	Conclusions	Recommendations
Teacher holds positive beliefs about students' attitude toward school	Believes most students are happy to attend school even when school attendance is mandatory. Believes students attend school to learn rather than to socialize, meet boy/girl friends, look good for the Parole Board, or kill time.			
Teacher has good command of subject matter; uses varied instructional materials and techniques	Has expertise, is familiar with tests, uses teacher-made materials, and tries new techniques. Information is current. Attends inservice seminars and conferences; subscribes to professional journals.			
Staff display positive morale	Sense of esprit de corps exists. Staff have easy interactions with school population. Some interactions with personnel after school hours. Consensus exists about instruction at all levels.			
	Teacher Characteristics: Instructional Management			
Teacher plans and prepares soundly and carefully	Teacher is task oriented. Revises lesson plans. Spends significant time outside of class preparing.			
Teacher provides cohesive instruction, day-to-day and skill-to-skill	Relates lessons to standardized tests. Is thoroughly knowledgeable of structure and substance of entire school curriculum. Skills are sequenced and defined.			

Criteria	Indicators	Findings	Conclusions	Recommendations
Teacher's behavior management minimizes disruptions in classroom	Addresses students by name. Stops problems before they begin. Shows "withitness," i.e., can handle two or more problems simultaneously. Signals continuity and momentum. Quickly responds to requests for help. Monitors seatwork. Allocates some responsibility to the group for their behavior.			
Teacher interests and stimulates students	Enjoys teaching. Wants to continue to teach. Uses a variety of challenging materials. Updates curriculum.			
Teacher meets affective goals through the Basic Skill curriculum	Teacher's behavior is enthusiastic. Material allows for a high percentage of success. Teacher rewards achievement regularly. Communicates high expectations for students.			
Teacher engages all students during all of allotted class time	Does not wait for all students to arrive before assigning any work. Has sufficient material. Material is arranged for minimum disruption during distribution and collection.			
Teacher provides continuous case management and ongoing evaluation	Skills have criterion-referenced assessments. Assessments are used to guide instruction. Assessments are timely and adequate. Composition of learning group changes with activity. Expectation for student performance changes with skill mastery.			

Criteria	Indicators	Findings	Conclusions	Recommendations
Teacher uses teaching and learning methods and materials effectively	Activities are related to school goals. Instructional pace is varied. Instruction is individualized. Individual lesson plans are developed. Discovery, discussion, and demonstration are used in addition to lecture and individual seat-work. Methods and materials are referenced directly to identified skill sequences.			
	School Climate: Physical and Organizational Environments			
Turnover, lateness, and attendance of staff	Staff reports before the start of school. Staff is rarely absent. Staff who demonstrate patterns of lateness or excessive absenteeism are disciplined. Staff are at stations in the school when students arrive.			
Turnover, lateness, and attendance of students	Students arrive on time. Average daily attendance is greater than 85 percent. Average monthly turnover is less than 50% in non-traditional setting. Student drop-out rate in regular schools should not be more than the national average.			

Criteria	Indicators	Findings	Conclusions	Recommendations
Turnover, lateness and attendance of security personnel	School is assigned steady officer. There are no delays and cancellations when regular officer is sick or on vacation. Replacements are timely and adequate. Officers are supervised directly by principal. The officer is responsive to complaints.			
Perception of ability to influence environment	Students report teachers are responsive to their concerns. Staff feels able to control much of what goes on in the school. All express confidence in their ability to control events in the school area.			
Discipline policies for staff	Rules have been promulgated and they are enforced. Coordinator models expected behavior, rewards and punishes accordingly.			
Discipline policies for students	Behavior code is made known to all students during school orientation. Rules are perceived as fair and consistently enforced. A clear conduct code and standards for behavior are developed by staff and evenly enforced. Discipline problems are reduced by an increase in the quality and quantity of work. There is no "chill-out" room. There are infrequent disruptions. Students are usually talked out of a disinclination to work.			

Criteria	Indicators	Findings	Conclusions	Recommendations
Discipline policies for officers	Frequent supervision by program director for security personnel. The director is actively involved in the delivery of nondisrupted services. Inservice for officers by school reduces need for punitive action by increasing understanding of school program requirements.			
Area is safe and secure	There is little evidence of violence by students to other students or to teachers. Officers do not physically discipline students..			
School is orderly and conducive to learning	When the area is shared with other programs, there is not a continuous or loud disruption in the halls. BE students are moved away from high traffic corridors. Officers do not sit as a group and talk loudly. There is adequate ventilation.			
School is clean and in good repair	School furniture is appropriate and in good repair. There are no graffiti. Lights and clocks are in working order.			
Teachers generate a positive & productive climate	Staff feel supported. Staff support school initiatives. Staff express a "can do" attitudes.			

Criteria	Indicators	Findings	Conclusions	Recommendations
The juvenile justice department and court generate a positive and productive climate.	The program officer demonstrates his esprit de corps. The court is cooperative and enthusiastic. The court liaison will respond to memos and phone calls. A permanent liaison is assigned to the program. The liaison expresses high expectations for the educational staff. They are responsive to many requests that will enhance program delivery.			
	Instructional Emphasis on Basic Skills			
Schoolwide basic skills instructional program	Basic skill policies are emphasized and well defined. There is a schoolwide commitment to improve basic skills. The responsibility for instructional leadership has been assigned to coordinator. Improvement objectives have been stated and goals continue to emerge.			
Specific time is allocated for basic skills instruction	No less than ten hours per program per week, and no less than ten hours of direct instruction per week are allocated in juvenile justice setting.			

Criteria	Indicators	Findings	Conclusions	Recommendations
Allocated time is utilized as engaged time	100%.			
Schoolwide written curriculum with objectives by reading level and subject area	Texts, supplemental materials, tests, student products.			
Materials for basic skill instruction including commercial kits	Steck-Vaugh Adult Reading Series; Education Design, Life Skills Reading 1 & 2; Cambridge Book Company, Reading for Life.			
Individualized instructional planning	Intake interview, pretest, and posttest are conducted regularly. Teachers use student folders. Individual assignments are common.			
Written plans are prepared and checked daily by the coordinator	Plans are written weekly. Plans are collected and reviewed by the coordinator. There is frequent informal observation.			
Active student participation	With teachers, in work groups, and with inmate tutors.			

Criteria	Indicators	Findings	Conclusions	Recommendations
	Pupil Evaluation			
Schoolwide records for monitoring student progress	School uses student folders to show continuous progress. Pretesting and posttesting is conducted. Student background information is collected. Posttesting occurs frequently.			
Standardized test	Woodcock Reading Mastery Test, Brigance Inventory of Essential Skills, Test of Adult Basic Intelligence (TABE), Key Math Diagnostic Arithmetic Test			
Instructional use of achievement tests	Skill diagnosis is conducted and extracted from pretest. Teachers assess student understanding of concepts and skills competence before assigning work. Students are regrouped. Groups are modified. Partial credit is given.			
Monitoring of student progress based on teacher judgments	As a general practice, students are evaluated in a variety of ways: folders, criterion-referenced tests, feedback. Coordinator confers with specialists regularly.			
Teacher frequently reviews skills	Teacher collects student products. Teacher encourages students to critique own work. Ongoing evaluations. Teacher conducts student conferences. Students have opportunity for self-evaluation.			

Criteria	Indicators	Findings	Conclusions	Recommendations
Regular communication of test results to students and their families	Congratulatory letter sent with GED certificate to family of students. Parents are informed of other special achievements or problems.			
Teacher submits timely and accurate reports	Reports prepared for school use, for coordinating agencies or students' families.			
Student incentives	Rewards for school attendance are competitive with those for work. Peer tutors are paid GED certificates. Student recognition ceremonies. Frequent posttesting. High interest materials. Special projects. Student publications. Letter to judge. College credits. Infraction reports.			
Teacher incentives	Salary. Teacher evaluation. Professional improvement plan. Presentor at staff development workshop. Continued employment.			
Officer incentives	Promotion. Supervision.			
Budget	$___ per average daily attendance/books. $___ per ___/ supplies and materials. 10 percent of total budget for consultants and staff development activities.			

Criteria	Indicators	Findings	Conclusions	Recommendations
Time	A minimum of ten hours of basic skills instruction per student per week. One hour of teacher preparation and program coordination for every 2.0 hours of class.			
Space	Easy access to program area, storage, and display space.			
Personnel	1 officer: 500 students; 1 teacher: 20 studnets; 1 counselor: 100 students; 1 secretary: 100 students; 1 peer tutor: 20 students; 1 coordinator/program.			
Reputation	Accreditation by appropriate boards or agencies.			

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